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A Proletarian Political Party Develops Amid Internal Struggles

- some understanding from studying "Engels to A. Bebel"

by

Fang T'ien-chi (方天戟)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

Almost a century ago, at a crucial moment when a violent struggle between the two lines took place within the workers' parties in France and Germany, Engels wrote Bebel a letter in which he pointed out: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out." This important thesis of Engels' incisively summed up his and Marx's experience in several decades of struggle against opportunism of every description, expounded the objective law of the development of a proletarian political party, and pointed out the correct attitude a Marxist should take toward inner-Party struggle. Today, while celebrating the 55th anniversary of our Party's birth, penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we find this statement by Engels particularly heart-warming and impressive.

Why does a proletarian political party always develop amid internal struggles? We can understand and answer this question correctly only when we follow the dialectical-materialist and historical-materialist world outlook.

The law of unity of opposites is the basic law of the universe. Like anything else in the universe, a proletarian political party always is divided into two. "A thunderstorm burst over the earth, so a devil rose from a heap of white bones."* There are parties outside the Party and factions within the Party -- this has always been the case. Engels' letter to Bebel was written with the struggle between the two lines within the French Workers Party at that time in mind. As Malon, Brousse and other opportunists intrigued and conspired and betrayed the Party's program, the Marxists and the opportunists within the French Workers Party finally parted and went their separate ways. The history of the French Workers Party shows that contradictions and struggles within a proletarian political party are inevitable and independent of man's will. Where there are contradictions,

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* See Poems by Mao Tsetung, "Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo, Nov. 17, 1961." - SPRCM Ed.

there are struggles, and struggles will bring about development. "Only in the course of internal struggle can a workers' political party develop, and this conforms to the general law of dialectical development." ("Engels to E. Bernstein," Oct. 20, 1882) This is true in one country as it is world-wide. Before and after the establishment of the First International, Marx and Engels had struggled against alleged socialism of every description, against Proudhonism, against the Bakuninist anarchism and British unionism. As a result of these struggles, Marxism finally spread widely within the workers' movement. The German workers movement too grew amid the struggle between the two lines. Guided by Marx and Engels, the German working class waged a resolute struggle against the opportunists such as Lassalle and Dühring, thereby enabling the German workers movement to advance in the correct direction, and the German Social-Democratic Party was founded. Without Lassalle's reactionary "Gotha Program," Marx's brilliant work "Critique of the Gotha Program" would not have come into being. If the political swindler Dühring had not come forward and launched an all-out attack on Marxism, Engels would not have written "Anti-Dühring," a Marxist encyclopedia. Similarly, without the struggle against the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky in the Second International, Leninism would not have been born. Our Party has also experienced many major struggles between the two lines, and it is precisely amid struggles against the various opportunist lines that our Party has grown from small to large, from weak to strong, and has continued to consolidate, develop and strengthen itself. "Without struggle there is no progress." Without struggle, there would be no victory of the proletarian revolution or the development of Marxism. Hasn't this point been clearly proved by more than a century of the international communist movement and by the history of our Party born 55 years ago?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism." Should we look at the struggle within a proletarian political party from the viewpoint of historical materialism or from that of historical idealism? What is the essence of inner-Party struggles? Marxism and revisionism have always provided different answers to these questions? Either to avoid Marxist criticism or to cover their revisionist features or to confuse the public and muddy the water, all revisionists invariably do their utmost to negate the class essence of inner-Party struggle. They distort inner-Party struggle as struggle between this group of people and that group of people, between this person and that person. In 1941, Liu Shao-ch'i maliciously vilified our Party's criticism of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line as "deliberately finding 'a target of struggle' (comrades inside the Party) and struggling against them as representatives of opportunism, sacrificing and hitting at one or several comrades, 'killing a chicken to warn a dog.'." In the "Outline of 'Project 571'," the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also interpreted the struggle between the two lines within the Party as a struggle between the "pen" and the "gun." Today, to revive the soul of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and to reverse the verdict on their own revisionist crimes, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and company totally negate the great cultural revolution as a life-

and-death class struggle, distorting the criticism of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as a struggle between "this faction" and "that faction" and between "new cadres" and "old cadres." But, innumerable facts of the struggle show that those revisionist ringleaders went all out to distort the essence of inner-Party struggles because they wanted to confuse the class fronts and dampen the revolutionary people's fighting spirit so they could wantonly alter Marxism. Refuting the erroneous view which "interpreted" the struggle within the French Workers Party "as one between individuals over opinions," Engels pointed out sternly: "The question at issue is entirely one of principle: Should we carry out the struggle as a class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie or, like the opportunists (or the probable in the language of socialists) carry it out in such a way that we may ignore the class nature and program of the movement so long as we can get more votes and more 'supporters'? Malon and Brousse favor the latter method, and so the proletarian class nature of the movement is sacrificed and a split becomes inevitable." Engels further pointed out that if a split was inevitable, "then it absolutely should not bear a personal nature and should not become a personal row (or something which may be described as a personal row)." How significant these important statements made by Engels are for us to correctly understand inner-Party struggles, see through the various absurdities spread by Teng Hsiao-p'ing on the question of inner-Party struggle,and carry through to the end the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

The reason why Marxism holds that the struggle between the two lines within the Party is not a battle between individuals is that Marxists always "regard the bourgeoisie as a class." In the last analysis, the two-line struggle within a proletarian political party is a reflection within the Party of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Notwithstanding the fact that chieftains of the opportunist line put on the Communist cloaks and wave the Marxist flag, in reality they represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in struggle against the proletariat. As Lenin pointed out: "The fact that the opportunists formally belong to the workers' parties does not by any means remove the fact that,objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, channels of its influence, its agents in the labor movement." ("The Collapse of the Second International") This was as true with Malon and Brousse in the French Workers Party in the past as it is with Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in our Party today. In fact, what they want to push is not the proletarian revolutionary line but a reactionary line protecting bourgeois interests. That is why the struggle between the two lines within the Party is itself an important aspect of the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. And it is precisely for this reason that the proletarian revolutionary mentors dedicated their whole lives to the Communist cause; "though he may have many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy." (Engels, "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx")

The struggle between the two lines within the Party is essentially class struggle. However, this struggle has different characteristics before and after the proletarian political party seizes political power.

Before seizure of political power, although opportunism within the proletarian political party is part of the bourgeoisie, its headquarters for struggle against the proletariat are located not inside but outside the Party. The bourgeoisie within the Party, as Marx and Engels put it, remains an appendage, a tail and a small partner of the bourgeoisie in society at large. Therefore, under capitalist conditions, the proletariat must first smash the bourgeois state machine and substitute the proletarian dictatorship for the bourgeois dictatorship in order to vanquish the bourgeoisie. Things change after the proletarian party seizes political power. "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road." "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's incisively analyze the changes in class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the socialist period, explaining that, under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the capitalist roaders in the Party on one hand and the workers together with the peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other. They are the principal force of the bourgeoisie in having a trial of strength with the proletariat and in restoring capitalism. And the bourgeois headquarters is right in the Party. These changes are by no means accidental. The reason is that the proletarian political party has become the ruling party under socialist conditions. Those revisionist ringleaders sneak into the organs of proletarian dictatorship to hold power. For instance, people like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing all hold a considerable part of power of the Party and state, and using their power, they may turn the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat into an instrument for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat and restore capitalism far more easily and ruthlessly than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They may use the power in their hands to recruit capitulationists and deserters, to form cliques for private ends, and to formulate and push the revisionist lines from the top. They may strengthen and expand bourgeois rights, practice capitalism in a big way, and sabotage and disintegrate the socialist relations of production. They may hoist various so-called "genuine Marxist" banners to temporarily hoodwink and swindle a section of people who know neither the facts nor have high consciousness and make them follow that revisionist line of theirs. In short, they are the general political representatives of the bourgeoisie and commanders of all social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to and undermine socialist construction in an attack against the proletariat. It is indeed much better for them to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the bourgeoisie in society to do so. This shows why the successive major class struggles in our country since liberation were always manifested as struggles between two headquarters in the Party.

When we understand this characteristic of inner-Party struggle during the socialist period, we will easily overcome the idea that "the two-line struggle is unknowable" as well as anxieties and uneasiness over this struggle. The protracted nature of class struggle determines the protracted

nature of the two-line struggle. As long as bourgeois rights, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist, and as long as the influence of the bourgeoisie, international imperialism and revisionism still exist, the phenomenon that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" will remain a long-term historical phenomenon. There were and will be bourgeois headquarters within the Party. "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen." Therefore, in struggle against the capitalist roaders, we must be ideologically prepared for a protracted battle. At present, it is especially necessary to act on Chairman Mao's teaching that a line and a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly, to penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, and to carry through to the end the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Only thus can the proletariat finally trounce the bourgeoisie.

Class struggle and the two-line struggle are protracted and tortuous, but victory always belongs to the revolutionary class. Marxists always adopt an attitude of revolutionary optimism toward the struggle, regard it as the source of greatest happiness, and are fully confident in the sure victory of the revolution. The reason is that we understand dialectics and are convinced that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The revolutionary masses of people are always the center of every era and determine its main content and the main direction of its development. Moreover, a great struggle will surely produce great leaders. After Marx and Engels, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin, almost all parties of the Second International totally betrayed Marxism. It was precisely in the course of struggle against the revisionism of the Second International that Lenin defended and developed Marxism and became a great leader of proletarian revolution. After the Second World War, the Khrushchev renegade clique usurped the Party of Lenin and Stalin, turning the first socialist country in the world into a fascist state of bourgeois dictatorship and whipping up a reactionary current of revisionism all over the world. At this crucial moment, our great leader Chairman Mao, displaying the dauntless spirit of going against the tide, led the proletariat and the revolutionary people to wage a firm struggle against revisionism, and he pointed out the orientation of advance for continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as waves rise higher than those before them in the Yangtze River, so the revolution will be carried on from generation to generation and successors will come forward to bear the standard. As Lenin pointed out in a burst of ardor: "We have fought better than our forbear. Our children will fight better than we do, they will surely win." ("The Working Class and Neo-Malthusianism") No matter how tortuous the revolutionary path may be and how many reversals, the masses of people comprising over 95 percent of the population will

always want revolution. All revisionist clowns who act perversely may gain momentary successes, but in the end they will be totally discredited and go under. "After all, the river flows eastward no matter how many mountains may stand in its way." Revolution will surely triumph over counter-revolution, newborn things over decadent ones, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought over revisionism of every description. Such is the law of history.

More than a century ago, when Marx and Engels, teachers of proletarian revolution, declared war on the old world, they proclaimed proudly: "The defeat of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." ("Communist Manifesto") This was the death-knell for the bourgeoisie but a song of victory for the proletariat. For more than a century, the old world has been badly shattered, socialism has been advancing in triumph everywhere. Viewing the excellent situation where the world is being turned upside down and filled with revolutionary pride, we are determined to persist in revolution and struggle under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end. Our goal will certainly be reached, the brilliant sun will surely shine all over the earth, and the Internationale will surely come true!

* * *

Strengthen Party Building Ideologically

by

Hsin Ch'i-ming (忻启明)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

Brimming with revolutionary sentiment, we warmly celebrate the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party at a time when the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts has won great victories.

Chairman Mao points out: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." For the past half a century and more, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and in the violent struggle between the two classes and two lines, our Party has led the people of the whole country to win victories in the new democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and shattered Teng Hsiao-p'ing's conspiracy of vainly trying to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution and restore capitalism. We have won great victories. However, we must see that the struggle along the road of advance has by no means ceased. In leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to strive for the realization of the Party's basic program, we must unceasingly strengthen Party building ideologically.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The history of our Party proves that if the ideological and political line is correct, the revolution will triumph and advance, but that if the ideological and political line is erroneous, the revolution will be set back and fail. It is precisely for this reason that at crucial junctures of succeeding line struggles Chairman Mao has always laid stress on strengthening Party building ideologically and guided the whole Party to study Marxism-Leninism and defeat erroneous lines from ideological and theoretical aspects. As early as the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "So far as shouldering the main responsibility of leadership is concerned, our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese imperialism will be more quickly accomplished if there are one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") In 1942, Chairman Mao again personally directed the Yenan rectification movement which, through the study of Marxism, completely exposed and repudiated the various "Left" and Right opportunist lines, thus raising the Marxist ideological and theoretical level of the whole Party and insuring the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Since liberation, especially since the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has in

succeeding major line struggles repeatedly instructed the whole Party to combine the criticism of revisionism with the study of Marxism-Leninism, urging all Party members to "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism" in the course of struggle. Experience proves that strengthening Party building ideologically is the fundamental guarantee for the correct line to prevail over the erroneous line. Why were past chieftains of the opportunist lines unable to destroy our Party? Chang Kuo-t'ao wanted to split the Party, but when he fled, even his guards did not follow him. Lin Piao set up a mountain stronghold and recruited sworn supporters so he could "mobilize everything" and "direct everything," but in the end he could only flee in a hurry with a few sworn followers, without being able to "mobilize" and "direct" a single squad or company. Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the Right deviation wind to reverse verdicts in a big way and engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, vainly trying to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also ended up utterly isolated and bankrupt. The basic reason is that our Party has a Marxist ideological and political line. Despite momentary successes of revisionist chieftains, the people, the Party and Party members have always wanted to advance unceasingly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Strengthening Party building ideologically not only assures the victory of the revolution but is also dictated by the characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period. In making the socialist revolution, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are the main target of the revolution. In 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution." In the present struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao again pointed out incisively: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road."

The capitalist roaders form inside the Party a political faction vainly trying to restore capitalism, with the revisionist line as their common basis. The reason why the capitalist roaders in the Party have become the hardcore force within the Party of the bourgeoisie as a whole is that they can use a portion of the power held in their hands to push a revisionist line. Therefore, in our struggle against the capitalist roaders, the most important thing is to solve the question of the line and to use the Marxist line to defeat their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Only by strengthening Party building ideologically and politically, fully understanding the new changes that have occurred in classes and class relations in the socialist period, making clear, in theory and practice, the question that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, and putting the ideological and political line in correct perspective can we bring into full play the combat role of the proletarian vanguard, lead the broad revolutionary masses to wage resolute struggle against those Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to its completion.

Chairman Mao points out: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." In adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and defeating revisionism, we must not only strengthen education in the ideological and political line in the whole Party but also enable the broad masses to understand the meaning of the proletarian revolutionary line and the revisionist line. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, to criticize Water Margin, to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and to criticize Teng, as well as the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts have all contributed to carrying out extensively among the broad masses the education in the ideological and political line and mobilizing them to take part in the line struggle. The capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing are so afraid of criticizing Water Margin and so desperately oppose the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship precisely because they are aware that once the vast numbers of Party members and the masses grasp the correct ideological and political line, it will be quite easy for them to recognize their revisionist features and their plot to restore capitalism will be foiled. The more the capitalist roaders are afraid of education in the ideological and political line carried out among the broad masses, the more we should step up such education among the masses. At the present moment, we should especially mobilize the masses to seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, firmly keep to the general orientation of struggle, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and penetratingly carry out the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts.

Experience in class struggle tells us that whether or not we are able to do so is a matter of prime importance bearing on the destiny of our Party and state. In the international communist movement, profound lessons in this respect have been learned. In the past the Soviet Union had dealt with a number of persons who practiced revisionism. In 1950, for example, Voznehsinsky (沃兹涅先斯基), Poliburo member of the Central Committee and First Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was purged as an arch capitalist roader inside the Party. However, because the wole Party and the people of the whole country were not mobilized to criticize the revisionist line pushed by people like Voznehsinsky, Khrushchev, on usurping the leadership of the Party and state, found it quite easy to reverse the verdicts on those capitalist roaders, changing the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and its proletarian character and bringing about all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Today, if we do not concentrate on criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing from the ideological and political line and completely discredit him so as to eliminate his pernicious influence, then it will be quite easy for capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing to resore capitalism.

Chairman Mao points out: "In order to effect organizational consolidation, it is first of all necessary to carry out ideological consolidation, to unfold a struggle by the proletariat against non-proletarian ideas."

("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") Making a success of organizational building serves the purpose of implementing the Party's ideological and political line and accomplishing the Party's political tasks in a better way. And only by grasping ideological building well in the first place can organizational building be given a correct orientation. If the relationship between the two is not handled well and if organizational building departs from the correct ideological and political line, from its command and guidance, then sectarianism and the mountain stronghold mentality will inevitably prevail. In point of fact, there has never been any purely organizational building that departs from a definite ideological and political line. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing assert that "readjusting the leading groups" is "a question at the core"? Actually, he wanted to reverse the decisions of and settle old scores with the great cultural revolution under the revisionist ideological and political line of "taking the three directives as the key link" so he could get rid of the vigorous leading bodies capable of upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that were set up during the great cultural revolution, replacing them with leading groups capable of pursuing the revisionist line, and radically altering our Party's character to restore capitalism.

In the current deepening of the socialist revolution, our great, glorious and correct Party is leading the proletariat and the broad revolutionary masses in advancing in big strides along the broad socialist path. On the road of advance, we will still encounter sharp and complex struggles while the bourgeoisie and persons like Teng Hsiao-p'ing may continue to appear. But no matter how tortuous the path may be and how sharp and complex the struggle, as long as our Party persists in strengthening building in the course of struggle and adheres to the correct ideological and political line, it will be able to lead the proletariat and the broad revolutionary masses to defeat the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, overcome revisionism, and accomplish the great historical mission of completely crushing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, substituting the dictatorship of the proletariat for the bourgeois dictatorship, using socialism to defeat capitalism, and eventually realizing communism.

* * *

A Polemic on the Question of Class Relations After the October Revolution

by

Shih Lun (石仑)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

Adhering to Marxist class analysis in correctly evaluating the changes in class relations is a matter of prime importance related to the success or failure of the revolution. On the question of how to deal with class relations in society after the Russian October Revolution, particularly the issue of how to deal with the bourgeoisie in the socialist period, Lenin conducted a sharp debate with revisionist chieftains like Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin. While criticizing their revisionist fallacies, Lenin made a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the various classes in society at the time and formulated a correct line and policies for the proletariat. Studying Lenin's relevant theses can help us more penetratingly comprehend the great significance of Chairman Mao's wise assertions that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party.

Following the victory of the Russian October Revolution, class relations in society at large underwent cataclysmic changes. Having seized political power, the proletariat rose to become the ruling class, while the landlord and bourgeois classes became the ruled. However, these changes in class relations in no way implied the disappearance of class struggle, indicating instead that the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie had entered a new stage. In the article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" written not long after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no socialism." He promptly put forward to the whole Party the fighting task of consolidating and developing the fruit of the October Revolution and persisting in the socialist revolution.

On the question of changes in class relations, the notorious renegade Kautsky was the first to spring out to oppose Lenin. Distorting class relations in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, he said that "the capitalists and big landlords no longer exist as a class because they have been expropriated," that all should be treated as "equal" and live in the "democratic" paradise, and that "everybody enjoys all political rights, regardless of which class and political party he belongs to." He vainly attempted to achieve the mean objective of negating the dictatorship

of the proletariat by abolishing or negating class struggle. Lenin ruthlessly exposed and laughed at Kautsky's fallacy as nothing but "sweet illusions" deliberately created by "sweet fools." Lenin pointed out: "Classes still exist in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but with changes occurring to each class their interrelations have also changed. Under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, class struggle does not disappear but takes another form." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") The overthrown landlords and capitalists still exist as a class and over a fairly long period of time command even greater superiority than the proletariat in certain spheres. With the deepening of the revolution, they will fight with a tenfold frenzy and a hundredfold hatred for the recovery of their lost "paradise."

A facet of the changes in the class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the change of counter-revolutionary tactics by the old exploiting-class elements. They were deeply aware of the "hopelessness of carrying out counter-revolutionary activities under the openly hoisted white defense flag." They had to disguise themselves by putting on a coating of "protective" color of the Soviet and wearing a "red cap." In this way many landlords and rich peasants got into the state farms while many capitalists managed to sneak into the "general bureaus" and "centers" as Soviet functionaries. Even more alien class elements infiltrated the Soviet government and Party to take up high posts. Lenin keenly perceived the changes in the counter-revolutionary tactics of the class enemies, pointing out: "The bureaucrats of the Tsarist era have gradually moved into Soviet organs to practice bureaucratism and disguise themselves as communists; moreover, to make the climb in a better way they manage to obtain the Russian Communist Party cards. That is why after they are expelled from the front door they get back through the window." ("The Eighth Congress of the RCP (B)") This change from waving a "white flag" to waving a "red flag," this phenomenon of "being expelled from the front door" and then "entering through the window," reflects the new features of class struggle in the socialist period.

Kautsky and the like not only categorically denied the existence of the old exploiting classes but disavowed in particular the possibility of a new bourgeoisie being engendered in socialist society. After the October Revolution, Bukharin alleged that the training of technical experts and managerial staff from among the workers during the period of proletarian dictatorship "will radically wreck the potential basis of new class divisions." He completely obliterated the possibility of class divisions and a new bourgeoisie being engendered during the socialist period. Lenin penetratingly exposed and criticized Bukharin's theory of the dying out of class struggle. In light of the actual situation of class struggle inside the Soviet Union, Lenin explicitly pointed out: "A new bourgeoisie now exists in our country. This is true. It is not only engendered from among our Soviet functionaries (where a very small portion can be engendered) but also in larger numbers from the peasants and handicraftsmen who have freed themselves from the fetters of capitalist banks and are now isolated because of rail disruptions. This is a fact. What

means have you in mind to evade this fact? You can only indulge in your own illusions or regard incomprehensive book knowledge as more complex reality. Reality proves to us that the capitalist commodity economy is still alive even in Russia, as in any capitalist society, asserting itself, developing and engendering the bourgeoisie." (Ibid.)

Here, Lenin cited irrefutable facts to prove that the basis for engendering a new bourgeoisie still exists in the socialist period. The commodity system, exchange by means of money and differences in grades which still exist in socialist society are not much different from those of the old society, and it is from this old soil that large numbers of new bourgeois elements emerge. In the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, exploiters such as the "Naipuman" (耐普曼) elements and speculative merchants kept emerging. Taking advantage of the money and commodities in their possession, they engaged in hoarding, speculation and manipulation to obtain excessive profits, going so far as to set up in Moscow, the Soviet capital, a central black market -- the Sokhalevka (苏哈列夫卡) Square. Although this "Sokhalevka" was later closed, Lenin maintained that while it wasn't difficult to close a single "Sokhalevka," what was appalling was its existence in the mind and action of every small producer. The reason was that "this 'Sokhalevka' is the capitalist basis. As long as it exists, it will be possible for the capitalists to return to Russia and become much more powerful than we are. We must understand this clearly. This should be the main motive force for our work and the condition and yardstick for measuring our real achievements. As long as we live in a country of small peasants, capitalism in Russia will have a firmer economic base than communism." ("Report on the Work of the People's Commissariat") In a word, small production engenders capitalism every day and every hour. The view entertained by Bukharin and the like that the "basis" for class divisions in socialist society had been "radically undermined" is purely opportunist delirium divorced from reality.

Because of the existence of bourgeois rights, new bourgeois elements may likewise emerge from among technical staff trained from among the workers as well as from among government functionaries. Lenin pointed out: "Among Soviet engineers, school teachers, and the privileged in Soviet factories, that is, workers with the best skills and the highest pay, we can see that all the evils inherent in the bourgeois parliamentary system are being continuously revived." ("'Leftwing' Communism--An Infantile Disorder") Lenin sharply pointed out: A number of Communists in key positions in the Soviets had become bureaucrats; "bureaucratism is in evidence not only in Soviet organs but in Party organs as well." ("Fewer, But Better") Lenin identified them as "the most vicious enemies within our ranks" ("On the Internal and External Situation of the Soviet Republic"), calling upon all to purge such enemies.

After the newborn Soviet regime smashed the imperialist armed intervention and put down the revolt of white bandits, the state of proletarian dictatorship was initially consolidated, with the balance of class forces further tilting in favor of the proletariat. In 1920, Bukharin wrote

the book Economics of the Transition Period, in which he alleged that "now we can be sure that the old capitalist system cannot be restored" and "the system of proletarian dictatorship has rendered any exploitation impossible." Refuting this "strange argument," Lenin remarked pointedly: "The author has forgotten 'class relations in society'." ("Comment on Bukharin's Book Economics of the Transition Period") The danger of capitalist restoration, in Lenin's view, still existed, merely finding expression in another form, that is, with the bourgeoisie as a whole pinning its hopes for restoration on the "internal degeneration" of the Soviet and the Communist Party.

At that time, seeing that the Russian landlord and bourgeois classes were badly routed and in a quandary, a big bourgeois representative called Milyukov lamented: "To restore capitalism (in Russia) one must go through the ladder of the social revolution doctrine and the doctrine of the Mensheviks." Another exiled leader of the old Constitutional Democratic Party, Ustliyarov (乌斯特里雅洛夫), also yelled that provided there was "internal degeneration" within the Soviet regime, then "they will surely turn into a normal bourgeois state, and we should support them." Confessions by these counter-revolutionary elements clearly reflected the changes in class relations under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and revealed that the restorationist forces of the bourgeoisie inside the Party were far more dangerous and ruthless than those in society at large. From the confessions of Milyukov and Ustliyarov, Lenin most keenly observed the new trend in class struggle and viewed these confessions as "words of truth spoken out by the enemy and pointing out the danger confronting us." Moreover, he said, "This is a main and real danger. Therefore, we should pay particular attention to this question: Who after all will win?" ("Political Report of the Central Committee of the RCP (B)")

Lenin pointed out with particular emphasis: "Opportunism is our main enemy." Already in early 1918 he was perturbed by the influx of opportunist elements, the "October Bolsheviks" as he called them, into the Party before and after the October Revolution. Events developed just as Lenin had anticipated. After the October Revolution this group of people increasingly became the force at the core of the entire bourgeoisie for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the eve of the October Revolution, Trotsky, whom the old renegade Kautsky extolled as the "most important leader" of the Bolsheviks, wormed his way into the Party, usurped a portion of Party, administrative and military power and became the biggest capitalist roader hiding in the Party at the time. Another "October Bolshevik" who sneaked into the Party was Khrushchev, who took the lead in bringing about capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. It was exactly the bourgeoisie inside the Party, represented by Khrushchev, that usurped the supreme powers of the Soviet Party and state and ruined the fruit of the October Revolution after Stalin's death and accomplished what the white bandits and Hitler wanted but could not do.

Proceeding from his profound understanding of the law of class struggle during the socialist period, Lenin tirelessly cautioned the whole Party to maintain high vigilance against the danger of capitalist restoration. He pointed out: "We have no idea whether after our victory a

temporary period of reaction and counter-revolutionary victory will appear. This is not impossible, so after our victory we must dig 'three trenches' as a precaution against this possibility." ("On the Revision of the Party Program") Before his death, the great Lenin adopted a series of revolutionary measures to severely suppress the sabotage and disturbances by class enemies at home and abroad, erecting one trench after another against the engendering of a new bourgeoisie inside the Party. To prevent Party and state cadres from seeking special treatment and losing their good qualities, Lenin advocated the employment of such measures as mobilization for the front and participation in Saturday voluntary labor to purge the party of people who "grabbed" advantages from the membership of the ruling political party and who were reluctant to engage in selfless work for communism. To prevent Soviet personnel from becoming "bureaucrats," Lenin adopted the measure of drawing the broad revolutionary masses into participation in the administration of the state. He encouraged participation in collective productive labor in the workshop or on the farm by those who had worked in the Soviet government or Party for a long period of time. He also stipulated that workers assuming administrative duties must return to the factory every four months for labor for one month. Lenin ruled that the salaries of Party cadres should not exceed the average wages of skilled workmen, apart from adopting the resolution narrowing the differences in material status within the Party. These revolutionary measures adopted by Lenin were new socialist things which had immense significance to the prevention of capitalist restoration and to striking at the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

The polemic on the changes in class relations during the socialist period reflects the sharp antagonism between Leninism and revisionism of every description. Lenin pointed out: "Class relations -- these are a basic and main thing, for without it there will be no Marxism." ("Tenth Congress of the RC (B)") It was on this fundamental issue that Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin and their like betrayed Marxism. Openly attacking Lenin's Bolshevik line, Bukharin said: "Should our policy line for the entire period be sensibly designed to intensify class struggle? I don't think so." In his view, class struggle was conceived by the Bolsheviks. What they followed was an opportunist line running counter to Leninism and denying class struggle as the key link. From the plane of world outlook, Lenin revealed the cause of political degeneration of this group of revisionists and pointed out that they "repudiate Marxism and are stubbornly reluctant (or cannot, perhaps to b more exact) to understand the necessity of making strict and objective appraisal of the strength of various classes and their mutual relationships before taking any political action." ("'Leftwing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder") Their fallacies on the question of class relations fully showed that they were despicable renegades from the proletariat.

In his fierce struggle against the ferocious enemies of the proletariat, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin and the like, the great Lenin constantly reminded the whole Party: "Class relations have changed -- this question is one of the major questions you should study and resolve here." ("The Tenth Congress of the RCP (B)") After the October Revolution Lenin did not cease making revolution and this was inseparable from his correct

understanding of the class relations and the law of class struggle after the October Revolution. It was due to Lenin's wise leadership that Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin suffered ignominious defeats. However, the bankruptcy of the revisionist line in a single instance didn't mean the extinction of revisionism. As long as classes and class struggle still exist, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism is inevitable. Lenin predicted in early 1917: "We believe that decades later new Plekhanovs and Scheidemanns as well as new and friendly conciliators like Kautsky will grow up in the 'united' international social-democratic movement." ("Changes in World Politics") The chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, as well as China's Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are such a group of new Plekhanovs, Scheidemanns and Kautskys. The successive coming to power of this group of new and old revisionist chieftains illustrates that there are successors to the cause of practicing revisionism, and as long as there are classes and class struggle in society, the struggle between the two lines in the proletarian political party will definitely go on for a long time. Ideologically we must be fully prepared against this.

The great leader Chairman Mao recently ponted out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's profoundly sums up the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad and scientifically analyzes the changes in class relations and the characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period in our country. This is a major development of Marxism-Leninism, further indicating the orientation for us to persist in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought in the course of struggle, deepen the criticism of Teng, pay attention to the study and mastery of the new changes in class relations in the socialist period, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end!

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On the Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period

by

K'ang Li (康 立)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

During the democratic revolution period there was the distinction between the comprador big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. With changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist period came new changes within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. In the present stage in China there are both old and new bourgeoisie while those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are political representatives of the bourgeoisie, both old and new, inside the Party. To clearly recognize the nature, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution, we must probe into the bourgeoisie's present condition.

First, take a look at the changes the old bourgeoisie has undergone. After the whole country was liberated, the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie suffered annihilating blows. However, the national bourgeoisie and its parties still maintained definite positions and strength both politically and economically. They stubbornly resisted the Party policy of using, restricting and remolding them, vainly trying to develop capitalism with "freedom." With the basic completion of socialist transformation of private industry and commerce in 1956, the bourgeoisie lost heart. In order to regain their lost paradise, the Rightist elements among them, such as Chang Po-chün and Lo Lung-chi, openly became bourgeois oppositionists with the coordination and support of the capitalist roaders in the Party to engage in a direct trial of strength with the proletariat. The great anti-Rightist struggle struck a heavy blow at this handful of reactionaries, making it difficult for this section of people among the bourgeoisie to openly gather together again to reenact the farce of "Chang-Lo alliance." Despite their odious character and continuous attempts to poison people with decadent bourgeois notions and way of life, they could be easily recognized by the brand of old vampire stamped on their bottoms. As regards the bourgeois intellectuals, a section of them achieved varying degrees of progress after having gone through successive political movements since liberation. However, quite a number of them continued to cling to the reactionary bourgeois stand and world outlook and make capital of their knowledge of culture, science and technology, vainly trying to resist the socialist revolution and use various ways to bring up their own successors for a continuing trial of strength with the proletariat.

Then, let us look at the new bourgeoisie, a group of newborn bourgeois elements in the socialist period. Long before cooperativization, there were new property holders and new rich peasants thriving on speculation and exploitation. They were engendered not only from a section of workers and government functionaries, but were also engendered constantly and in large numbers from small producers. Responding to and colluding with landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people and Rightists, they engaged

in corruption and stealing, speculation and manipulation, and perpetrated every misdeed. It is quite easy to discern this category of newly born bourgeois elements. Another category of new bourgeois elements are of good family origin, matured under the red flag and joined the Party; having received university education, they become so-called Red experts and leading cadres. However, they have turned bourgeois from thinking to living. They regard as their creed and maxim such bourgeois notions as "science is supreme," "knowledge is private property," "go to school to become an official," "join the Party to become an official" and "proficiency in mathematics, physics and chemistry will fill one in any niche." When the bourgeois Rightists launched attacks on the Party in 1957, Liu Shao-t'ang, a Rightist element who vowed "to fight for 10,000 yuan in writing fee," was a typical example. A number of people in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, such as Lin Li-ko and his little "fleet," also belonged to this category of newly engendered bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements. Politically, they were as rapacious as the double-dealers and upstarts when seeking to seize the means of production they did not have before and were particularly anxious to swallow up all the wealth belonging to the state or the collective. The ruthlessness with which they resorted to whatever means at their disposal was beyond the reach of even the old generation of capitalists.

As regards the bourgeoisie inside the Party, some of them are secret agents, renegades and alien class elements who sneaked into the Party and some are former bourgeois democrats who joined the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. However, most of them are newly engendered bourgeois elements. As political representatives of the bourgeoisie, old and new, the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are as fanatical as the old bourgeoisie who vainly tried to regain its lost paradise and as adventuristic as the new bourgeois elements, thus combining the former's craftiness with the latter's insatiable greed. This reflects in a concentrated way the class characteristics of the bourgeoisie in the socialist period.

The principal contradiction in the socialist period is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Because the bourgeoisie outside the Party is in the position of the ruled and as a result of the changes in the balance of class forces with the deepening of the socialist revolution, it has become rather difficult for them to push out their front men to engage the proletariat in an open trial of strength. In these circumstances the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie finds increasing expression in the Party. The bourgeoisie inside the Party and the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road thus become the force at the core of the bourgeoisie as a whole, being commanders of all social forces and groups opposed to the socialist revolution and engaged in a trial of strength with the proletariat. The bourgeois headquarters is located inside the Party, not outside it. Our struggles against opportunist chieftains such as Kao Kang, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are all struggles waged against the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

In old China the comprador big bourgeoisie represented the most backward and reactionary relations of production which seriously hampered the development of productive forces in the country. This position

has today been taken over by the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The capitalist roaders are the representatives of decadent capitalist relations of production. Those "high officials" who practice revisionism like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing hold a very large portion of the Party and state power and are in a position to formulate and push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the name of the "state," the "Party," the "higher-ups" and the "leadership," in a determined bid to turn the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into those of the bourgeois dictatorship and to carry out oppression of and impose a white terror on the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and minor officials. Therefore, as early as the socialist education movement Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers."

Why is it that in socialist society the bourgeoisie is engendered inside the Party? What makes it possible for the bourgeoisie to continue to exist and to arise? Economically speaking, it is due to the existence of bourgeois rights, which in terms of ownership in the socialist period have not been completely abolished. They still persist in a considerable degree in respect of men's interrelations and dominate the area of distribution. Thus bourgeois rights protect the old bourgeoisie as well as conceiving and nurturing the new.

Bourgeois rights mainly embrace the commodity system, exchange through money, distribution according to work, the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. In view of the existence in socialist society of two types of socialist ownership, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, it is still necessary to enforce the commodity system. With the exception of those capital goods and social products that are placed under state unified planning and allocation and certain items distributed according to need, exchange of commodities and exchange through money that are not much different from those of the old society are still practiced between and within the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between the state, the collective and the individual, and practically in every segment of socio-economic life. Of course, with changes in the ownership systems, China's commodity system is restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, not aimed at obtaining surplus value. Nevertheless, it is still the economic basis for generating capitalism. Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie is engendered from commodity production." ("The Seventh Congress of All-Russia Soviets") As long as the commodity system still exists in socialist society and the principle of commodity exchange continues to operate, the possibility of capitalist restoration inevitably exists. Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the old bourgeois elements continued to draw fixed interest, enjoyed higher wages, and had more commodities and money. Pinning their hopes on those bourgeois rights that had not been abolished, they strongly demanded and extended bourgeois rights. New bourgeois elements were hatched in large numbers from the commodity system. They either turned public property into private, engaged in corruption and stealing, and took into their own possession money and commodities that belonged to the people or engaged in speculation and manipulation to obtain excessive profits, or turned commodities and money into capital, treated

labor power as commodity and directly carried out capitalist exploitation. This inevitably led to polarization. If it is said that the first generation of the bourgeoisie was born of commodity production several hundred years ago, then at the present stage the last generation of the bourgeoisie will also be begotten from commodities.

The most dangerous enemies are the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Pushing the revisionist line is the most basic political characteristic of capitalist roaders. They extend and strengthen bourgeois rights and strive to apply the principle of commodity exchange to all spheres. Preaching "profit in command" and "production value first," they use the capitalist law of value to abolish planned economy and replace socialist production goals with capitalist production goals. This in essence alters the nature of socialist ownership. When it comes to enterprise management, they twist Chairman Moa's instruction "management itself is a matter of socialist education." They have never referred to the workers as masters of factories and enterprises, avoid mentioning such questions as the need for cadres to practice "three-togetherness" with the workers and to learn from them, let alone the sharp antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie inside the Party. They impose "control, check and repression" on the workers and turn the relationships between the leadership and the masses and between the higher and lower levels into relationships between the cat and the mouse and between the ruler and the ruled in a vain attempt to restore the capitalist system of wage labor. They practice "material incentives" and the "bonus system" not only to enable the few privileged people to swallow up conveniently large amounts of social wealth but to corrupt the broad laboring masses and turn the relations between men into commodity and cash relations between the buyer and the seller. In the political and ideological spheres, they also attend to all things according to the principle of commodity exchange. They regard themselves as commodities and look upon participation in the revolution as "stock-purchase" and ask for their "share of dividend" on the basis of "merit," "sweat labor," and "fatigue" in a bid to upgrade themselves as commodities to be sold to the proletariat at a higher price. They promise high official posts and offer rewards on the basis of merit, substituting the principle of commodity exchange for the Party's organizational principle. In short, they personify commodities and capital in the same way the past capitalists did, everything existing for the sake of commodities. When their economic and political strength develops to a certain stage, they will demand the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and restore the capitalist system openly and in an all-round manner.

Whether to restrict or extend and strengthen bourgeois rights is a vital aspect of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line. If the proletariat fails to adopt effective measures to restrict bourgeois rights during the socialist period, these rights will undermine and disintegrate the socialist economic base and alter the nature of the socialist system of ownership. At the present stage, however, we can only restrict but not abolish bourgeois rights. As long as social class divisions and the three major differences still exist, as long as labor has not become people's "prime need of life" and as long as productive forces

have not developed to the extent of providing an abundance of social products, it will still be necessary to continue to practice or even protect bourgeois rights that embrace the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work. Since we have built such a bourgeois state without capitalists, restricting the commodity system in no way means not to develop commodity production. In our country commodities are not plentiful; we don't have a great abundance of them. However, we now develop commodity production for the purpose of eventually abolishing it, and the defects that arise in the course of developing commodity production must be restricted with appropriate measures so as to prevent the principle of commodity exchange from eroding the socialist economic base, the political life and even Party life. We must therefore pay full attention to questions related to interrelations and the superstructure, particularly work of carrying out education in the ideological and political line. This means at the moment we must criticize Teng. Practice proves that in those units or departments where bourgeois rights are not sufficiently taken to task the bourgeois wind prevails to hamper the criticism of Teng and stall the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin pointed out: "Between capitalism and communism is a transition period and in theory this is beyond any doubt. This transition period cannot but embody the characteristics or traits of these two types of socio-economic structure. It cannot but be a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism, in other words, a period of struggle between defeated but not yet eliminated capitalism and the already born but still very fragile communism." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois rights reflect moribund capitalism while socialist new things represent growing communism. Direct participation of worker-peasant masses in management and formation of revolutionary committees combining the old, the middle-aged and the young; "May 7" cadre schools and cadre participation in collective productive labor to give impetus to the reform of state organs; sending tens of millions of educated youths to mountainous and rural areas to integrate with worker-peasant masses; the appearance of large numbers of barefoot doctors and the widespread introduction of the cooperative medical service--these communist shoots restrict bourgeois rights from various aspects, sweeping away the traces of capitalism left over from the old society and promoting the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction on all fronts. Even now the issue of two kinds of future and fate, that is, whether socialist society, which is in the process of motion of contradictions, should advance toward communism or retreat back to capitalism, has not been finally decided. Here, the key question is whether or not there is a correct ideological and political line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line reflects the objective law of socialism passing over to communism, and provides the fundamental guarantee for eventually realizing communism. On the other hand, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing represents the decaying capitalist relations of production and embodies the desire of the bourgeoisie as a whole to restore capitalism. The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. It is imperative for us to adhere to the Party's basic

line, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well, wholeheartedly support socialist new things, continuously criticize and restrict bourgeois rights, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office and school.

In analyzing and comparing the various wings of the bourgeoisie, we can clearly see that the object of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie, with those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road as the main target. In making socialist revolution, we should not only be aware of the existence of the old bourgeoisie and its intellectuals in society at large, but also should pay attention to the birth of new bourgeois elements. We should in particular recognize the capitalist roaders inside the Party as the main danger for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, we must always bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

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What Is the Essence of the "20 Articles"?

by

Yen Feng (延 风)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

"Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" ("20 Articles") is a programmatic document drawn up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing for all-out restoration of capitalism in the economic field.

What is the essence of this document? Its essence is opposition to continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This document carries extracts of up a hundred quotations from Chairman Mao, but it deliberately "leaves out" Chairman Mao's important statements concerning his analysis of class relations in the socialist period and his analysis of the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

This document lists a great number of "enemies of the proletariat," but it deliberately "forgets" that the main targets of the socialist revolution are those in power inside the Party taking the capitalist road.

Is this accidental? Certainly not.

As early as 1964, during the socialist education movement, Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." At the same time, he advanced the well-known thesis that "management itself is a matter of socialist education." He said: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others."

While commanding the formulation of the "20 Articles," Teng Hsiao-p'ing more than once made known his intention to "rectify enterprise management." Every draft of the "20 Articles" took "rectification of enterprise management" as an important objective. If we really mean to talk about socialist enterprise management, we must cite this famous thesis of Chairman Mao's that "management is a matter of socialist education" and elucidate the Marxist basic thought concerning enterprise management in the spirit of this directive set by Chairman Mao. However, the "20 Articles," revised again and again, was silent about this. Only in the draft revised on October 25 by that "theoretician" whom Teng Hsiao-p'ing depended on as "adviser" were the following words written under the heading "Red and Expert":

"If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others."

Don't you want to know how opportunism emasculates the quintessence of Marxism by the use of one or two revolutionary phrases? Here is another typical example!

This important directive of Chairman Mao's scientifically analyzes the changes in the class relationships during the socialist historical period, expounds the nature, tasks, and target of the socialist revolution, and analyzes the characteristics and origin of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the methods of defeating them. It is both of vital current significance and far-reaching historical importance to our perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the circumstances where the proletariat exercises dictatorship, the core and principal force of the bourgeoisie are no longer outside the Party but inside, with the bourgeoisie inside the Party becoming the main danger of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. The sharp antagonism between the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants is a concentrated expression of class struggle in the socialist period. Hence, whether to acknowledge the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and whether to acknowledge the bourgeoisie inside the Party as being the main target of revolution during the entire socialist historical period is a basic hallmark of whether we persist in or oppose continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin was absolutely correct when he said: "Opportunism denies class struggle on the most essential point." ("The State and Revolution") By blatantly chopping off the concept of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the thesis that the bourgeoisie inside the Party is the target of revolution and struggle, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his "20 Articles" emasculated the Marxist doctrine of class struggle precisely on the most essential question of socialist revolution. Liu Shao-ch'i in his sinister "Self-cultivation" chopped off the dictatorship of the proletariat, and now Teng Hsiao-p'ing in his "20 Articles" chopped off the main target of the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. What a coincidence. Different songs are sung with the same excellence. If the target of revolution were chopped off, wouldn't revolution become empty talk?

For a long time, from Liu Shao-ch'i to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, every effort has been made to obliterate or cover up the main content of Chairman Mao's directive that "management itself is a matter of socialist education." They "are like petty thieves who stay away from the place where they have stolen." (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism") They are frightened at the sight of words about the bourgeoisie inside the Party or statements which imply the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and they cannot wait to chop them off. This precisely reveals their sinister motives, that, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, they are that sort of "leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road / and who / have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers."

Besides chopping off the main target of revolution, they also chopped off "three-togetherness." This isn't strange at all. How can you expect the bourgeoisie inside the Party to practice "three-togetherness" with the workers? And not only do they absolutely refuse to practice "three-togetherness," but they also vigorously oppose and dread the practice of "three-togetherness" by the leaders and managerial staff of enterprises. The reason is that they want to build a gulf of "differences" between the leaders together with the managerial staff and the worker masses. They want to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights on the mutual relations among people and turn the socialist system of ownership into the capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders.

Chairman Mao's thesis on "three-togetherness" profoundly reveals the origin and process of formation of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. In socialist society classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist, and most basically relations among people are still class relations. In the mutual relations among people bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent. Under the correct line, a new-type comradely relationship within the revolutionary ranks will be consolidated and developed. Practice of "three-togetherness" by cadres with the masses will help promote equality between cadres and the masses, continued restriction and removal of bourgeois rights in the mutual relations among people, and prevent leaders and managerial staff from turning from "servants of society" into "masters of society." Wherever the erroneous line predominates, the relations between cadres and the masses will turn into relations between cats and mice, relations between father and son, and the relations between capitalists and workers in capitalist enterprises, the relations between the employer and the employee, between the exploiters and the exploited and between the oppressors and the oppressed will re-appear. The leaders and managerial staff of enterprises will turn into new bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers, and the socialist enterprises will cease to exist but in name. This is precisely what Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been dreaming of and how can he tolerate the exposure of this secret to the public?

After tampering with Chairman Mao's directive in all sorts of ways, what is left for them is only a few words about learning of technical skills. The question does not lie in whether or not to learn technical skills, but why and to what use they ought to be put. Chairman Mao calls on the managerial staff to study technical skills because by doing so they can get close to the worker masses, acquaint themselves with the process of production, and make themselves ordinary laborers both Red and expert. But the "20 Articles" refers neither to the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie inside the Party nor to the practice of "three-togetherness," thereby completely twisting the meaning of Chairman Mao's directive. It appears that the success or failure of management depends only on the success or failure in learning technical skills, that those who have technical skills "manage" people while those without technical skills can only be "managed." Their intent is precisely to obstinately spread "the old, absurd, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called 'upper classes,' only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are

capable of administering the state and directing the organizational construction of socialist society." (Lenin, "How To Organize Competitions") In the Soviet Union today, doesn't the Brezhnev clique rely on a handful of technical aristocrats in carrying out management over the masses of workers and impose the evil dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

Different attitudes toward this important directive of Chairman Mao's reflect two basically antagonistic political lines as well as two basically antagonistic lines on running enterprises.

"Management itself is a matter of socialist education" means that the question of enterprise management is one of class struggle. This means that we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, criticize and abolish bourgeois rights, continue to wipe out the soil breeding new bourgeois elements, fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every grassroots unit, and place the leadership of enterprises firmly in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses.

But Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his "20 Articles" turn things completely upside down. Enterprise management has virtually become another name for "control, check and repression." Doesn't the "20 Articles" state explicitly that "expeditiously instituting and perfecting all needed rules and regulations is the primary task of rectifying enterprise management"? Management is everything, and all other things, such as putting politics in command and making workers the masters of factories are negligible. As to what kind of stuff is this managerial system which ignores class struggle and the line, the "20 Articles" also states quite clearly. They describe the "institution of a system of responsibility at posts" as the "core" of enterprise management in a vain attempt to tie the workers to the machines and reduce them into slaves of machines. They order "abolition without exception" of all forms of workers participation in enterprise management created since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, and ask workers "all to return to production posts." They maliciously accuse the workers who apply the "four major" weapons to supervise the orientation and the line of "rebelling against the proletariat" and "practicing revisionism, splits, and conspiracies and intrigues." Far from being rules and regulations of socialist enterprises, they are a book of capitalist factory laws!

Today, ten years after the great proletarian cultural revolution was launched, the release of the "20 Articles" is a reaction to continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By chopping off the concept of capitalist roaders in a document he prepared, Teng Hsiao-p'ing thought that it was possible in this way to abolish continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so he might have a chance to restore the capitalist relations of production. But this is only his wishful thinking. The steady advance of the proletariat and the revolutionary people is irresistible, and anyone who attempts restoration will end up totally discredited. This has been proved and will continue to be proved by history.

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A Decade of Shanghai's Shipbuilding Industry

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Shanghai's shipbuilding industry has travelled a fighting course of a decade on the road of independence and self-reliance. A decade is not a long time, but cataclysmic changes have taken place in the outlook of Shanghai's shipbuilding industry.

Ten years ago, due to the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and company, tremendous difficulties lay in the path of making 10,000-ton freighters and 10,000-h.p. engines. In the 17 years prior to the cultural revolution, Shanghai made only one 10,000-ton freighter and one 10,000-h.p. engine. But in the ten years since the start of the cultural revolution, it has produced forty-five 10,000-ton freighters and thirty-four 10,000-h.p. engines. After S.S. "Fengch'ing" returned triumphantly from its first trip to Europe, eighteen 10,000-ton freighters have visited the five continents and three oceans, writing a new chapter in the history of China's ocean-going shipping. Besides this, China has also designed and built new-type ships of advanced world standard, including a 10,000-ton class mud-digging ship, a huge floating dock, an oceanographic survey ship, and an oceanic geological prospecting ship. In 1975, the total tonnage of ships built in Shanghai was more than five times that of 1965. Today, inspired by the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, Shanghai's shipbuilding industry has prospered with still greater degrees.

The colossal changes over the past decade have not been brought about by accident. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The rapid development of Shanghai's shipbuilding industry is the natural outcome of the triumph through the cultural revolution of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Shanghai's shipbuilding industry conceived and nurtured the first generation of China's working class. After the liberation, the vast masses of shipbuilding workers, in order to change the backward outlook of China's shipbuilding industry, eagerly hoped that they could use their hands to build more and bigger ships. But why was it so difficult to realize this wish before the cultural revolution? Why was the development of the shipbuilding industry so slow for a long time? Let's recall the building of the first 10,000-ton freighter and the first 10,000-h.p. engine in Shanghai. In 1958, inspired by the general line of "going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results," the masses of workers in Chiangnan Shipbuilding Plant, having produced China's first 5,000-ton freighter in five and a half months, were resolved to build the first 10,000-ton freighter. In order to enable this 10,000-ton freighter to be fitted with China's own main engine, workers of Hutung Shipbuilding Plant, who had successfully trial produced a 2,000-h.p. diesel engine, were

resolved to go ahead and trial produce a diesel engine with 8,820 horsepower. In 1960, the hull of the 10,000-ton freighter was successfully launched after it was completed on the platform in 45 days. In 1961, the 10,000-h.p. diesel engine also began to be test run. To give expression to the wishes of the working class to catch up with and surpass the advanced world standard, the first 10,000-ton freighter was named "Tungfeng" /East Wind/. However, if the East wind did not prevail over the West wind, then the West wind would prevail over the East wind. The struggle between the two lines left no room for compromise. Just when the workers were battling in high spirits, Liu Shao-ch'i and company stirred up an adverse current of "building ships is no better than buying ships, and buying ships is no better than chartering them." The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party attempted to destroy "Tungfeng." The quality of the 10,000-h.p. engine was obviously up to standard, but those whose heads were filled with ideas of worshipping things foreign used the pretext that little holes were found on the crankshaft to rudely insist that the crankshaft be replaced. The workers angrily argued with them, but to no avail. The crankshaft was to be reported as obsolete and returned to the furnace. The main engine could not operate with the crankshaft, and "Tungfeng" could not sail without the main engine. As a result, the first 10,000-ton freighter lay idle on the Huangpu River for five full years. Did Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line strangle only one ship or one engine? No. They wanted to stifle the ambition of the Chinese working class, the revolutionary spirit of independence and self-reliance, the creativity of the worker masses. It was only in the midst of the cultural revolution that "Tungfeng" proudly set sail to the ocean, and that crankshaft, on which a "death sentence" was pronounced by the capitalist roaders, also gained a new life and operated normally on the 10,000-h.p. engine for eight years. What happened to one ship and one engine shows profoundly: the capitalist roaders in the Party and the worker masses are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other. It was difficult to build ships before the cultural revolution because the capitalist roaders used their power to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The shackles of the revisionist line repressed the creativeness and initiative of the worker masses and hindered the development of the productive forces. Only when the worker masses rose up to rebel against the capitalist roaders in the Party and the revisionist line during the cultural revolution, only when they seized back the power usurped by the capitalist roaders and improved that portion of relations of production and superstructure that did not fit in with the developing productive forces was the socialist enthusiasm latent in their midst erupt like a volcano and the path of developing the shipbuilding industry on the basis of self-reliance widened with the passage of time.

The tremendous changes over the past decade have not come by easily. Just as the worker comrades said: "Victories come from struggle, and there will still be struggle after victories are gained." The shipbuilding industry in Shanghai has fought for liberation for ten years since the beginning of the cultural revolution, and if this were described as a battle for production, it had better be described as a political battle for continued struggle against the capitalist roaders and the revisionist line. As it may be recalled, in 1970, after the workers of Shanghai

Shipbuilding Plant built a 10,000-ton freighter on a 3,000-ton platform and the workers of shift 22 of the casting workshop of Hutung Shipbuilding Plant posted that revolutionary big-character poster, the shipbuilding workers in Shanghai opened fierce fire on the revisionist line and pressed ahead to produce six 10,000-ton ships, creating the highest historical record of producing 130,000 tons a year. However, in 1971 and 1972, due to the interference of Lin Piao's revisionist line, the annual production of ships declined to 100,000 tons and 78,000 tons respectively. In 1973, through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the workstyle, the masses of shipbuilding workers persisted in going forward and opposed moving backward. They criticized the erroneous tide of thought negating the great cultural revolution. That year the tonnage of ships built again rose to 197,000 tons. In 1974, after the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was set off, the shipbuilding workers and the seamen fought shoulder by shoulder and harshly criticized the revisionist line of having blind faith in things foreign, and the tonnage of ships built again rose to 226,000 tons. In 1975, during the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the shipbuilding workers, studying theory and grasping the line, exhibited still greater revolutionary zeal and boosted the tonnage of ships built by about ten percent over 1974. What does this saddle-shape fluctuation in production show? It shows that the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road and the two-line struggle still goes on. The focal point of the struggle is still whether or not to stick to the road of developing the shipbuilding industry independently and self-reliantly.

Chairman Mao points out: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." To develop the shipbuilding industry independently, it is necessary to make our policy rest on our own strength, to build more and bigger ships and place the fate of the shipbuilding industry firmly in the hands of the Chinese working class. However, in the views of capitalist roaders in the Party like Teng Hsiao-p'ing, to develop the shipbuilding industry it would be necessary to depend on external assistance and imports. Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged: "It is necessary to import more things" and "this will be reliable." Is simply depending on imports reliable? On this point, the masses of shipbuilding workers know best. One year, Hutung Shipbuilding Plant intended to sign an agreement with a capitalist country for the purchase of its patents, but the foreign capitalists attached harsh conditions to their sales of patents, such as the requirement that we must report to them on the conditions of the production of 10,000-h.p. engines on a half-yearly basis, the requirement that factories which produce patented products must not be allowed to produce home-made engines, the requirement that we cannot use these engines to help the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the countries of the Third World, etc., etc. These harsh conditions, to put it bluntly, were aimed at preventing us from carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. To speed up the development of China's shipbuilding industry, we are not against importing, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, certain advanced technology, but the aim of doing so must be to increase the ability of

the Chinese people to achieve regeneration through their own efforts. Our difference with capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing is definitely not whether we should import some necessary technology and equipment, but whether we should stick to the socialist orientation and persist in the policy of independence and self-reliance. If we acted on the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and counted on imports in doing everything, that would mean allowing others to hold us by the neck and we would never be able to develop our own shipbuilding industry.

When we speak of self-reliance and putting the development of the shipbuilding industry on the basis of our own strength, the most basic part of this strength is that of the working class and the masses of the people. In the course of the battle fought by Shanghai's shipbuilding industry for independence, we can see clearly that once the masses of people master their own destiny and have a Marxist line, there is no difficulty which cannot be overcome and no task which cannot be fulfilled. Building a 10,000-ton freighter on a 3,000-ton platform was something never thought of or done before. But the workers of Shanghai Shipbuilding Plant, guided by Chairman Mao's philosophic thought, surmounted numerous difficulties and adverse conditions and produced a 10,000-ton freighter on a 3,000-ton platform. When the workers of Chiangnan Shipbuilding Plant proposed to make a 10,000-h.p. engine, some people visited their plant and, shaking their heads heavily, said: "No, you must go slowly." But the workers did not believe what they said. Strongly criticizing the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind at a snail's pace, they beat many obstacles put up by the capitalist roaders. Because they had no workshops, they worked in the straw sheds, and as they had no equipment, they started making indigenous equipment by combining modern and indigenous methods. Because they had no materials, they relied on the masses in tapping the potentials. With the assistance of fraternal plants, at last "a golden phoenix flies out from the straw shed," the first 10,000-h.p. engine was made. The Chunghua Shipbuilding Plant is a medium-size plant. After the battle to put the shipbuilding industry on an independent basis got underway, the workers said proudly: "We must build a 10,000-ton freighter!" At this time some people said: "How can you do that when you don't even have a 10,000-ton platform. You'd better wait." But the worker comrades retorted: "No. Revolution means struggle, not waiting. Going all out and aiming high means struggle. You can't do anything by waiting." Did you have the conditions? Said the worker comrades: "Conditions are created by man. If we wait for the conditions to arrive before we proceed to build the ship, what kind of revolution do we make? What's the use for our hands?" The time to start was now, and if you didn't have the conditions, create them by all means. It was because they were inspired by such precious revolutionary spirit that the workers on a converted indigenous platform successively built six 10,000-ton ships. In the second half of 1974, the workers of Hutung Shipbuilding Plant, after 90 days of hard work, launched two 10,000-ton freighters -- "Ch'angchin" and "Ch'anghsiu" in the same month. Then, instead of taking a break, they started the battle to build the "Hsüchou" on the platform. In only 50 days and more, this 25,000-ton freighter

was launched into the water. In the battle to build "Hsüchou," many heart-warming deeds emerged from among the masses. For example, take the seven young people of the "Eagle" squad, one of the main working groups in carrying out welding on board "Hsüchou." Emulating another youth shock team, the "Tiger" squad, in the plant, they brought their beddings to the plant and fought valiantly on aboard "Hsüchou" around the clock. Once, after taking section 301 in 24 hours, they suddenly received a welding task to take section 102 in one night. The young people, still holding their welding guns, planted the battle flag "Eagle" on section 102. In a small cabin, they worked continuously for 40 hours amid thick smoke and fulfilled the task according to schedule. In days of such hard work, the young people of "Eagle" did not forget study and criticism even for a single moment. In one and a half months they read a number of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, including "Critique of the Gotha Program" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and put out four issues of mass criticism bulletins and blackboard papers, thereby truly becoming a shock brigade both in politics and production. Such moving deeds as performed by the "Eagle" squad can be found almost in every shipbuilding plant and workshop, both among retired old workers and the vast number of basic-level cadres. They are in fact too numerous to be taken down. Marx said a long time ago: "The most powerful productive force is the revolutionary class itself." ("Poverty of Philosophy") The worker masses always want revolution and progress. This socialist enthusiasm latent among the masses is precisely the source of strength for us to take the road of self-reliance. As long as we firmly trust and rely on the masses and discover in its essence their socialist enthusiasm, then any kind of miracle can be performed on earth.

An important mark of whether we wholeheartedly rely on the worker masses and take the road of self-reliance is what attitude we take toward the new things created by the worker masses. On this question, the struggle in Shanghai's shipbuilding industry over the past decade has been very acute. Some people just didn't believe that we were capable of building 10,000-ton freighters and 10,000-h.p. engines. By 1973, the city had built more than twenty 10,000-ton freighters, some of which had been tested many times in ten-grade typhoons, some continued sailing safely for more than 10,000 nautical miles, and some carrying heavy loads had trial run for more than 120 hours. All these tests proved that they were up to the standard. However, some people always tried by every possible means to find faults, saying that "the quality of these ships is unreliable" and "they can only be used as ferries on the Huangpu River." The main engine of "Ch'ingyang" was attacked as "having a weak heart, feeble limbs, and poor ears and eyes." It was described as good for nothing. But what about the facts? It sailed to the Mediterranean covering a voyage of 18,000 nautical miles. Its main engine continued operating normally for 16 days and nights, proving that its performance was up to the standard. In short, the logic of these people in dealing with new things is this: they are illegal and unscientific and should not be recognized. Actually, they want to ban the revolution. It was obvious that some ships could be built in the country, but their construction was prohibited. It was obvious that some ships could sail to the oceans, but they were permitted

only to sail along the coast. It was obvious that some ships could be delivered for service, but their delivery was deliberately delayed. The worker comrades said angrily: "We shed a lot of sweat in building a ship, yet we have to pass ten thousand hurdles in delivering it." In this struggle between progress and regression, the shipbuilding workers, riding on the east wind of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, opened fierce fire on the reactionary program of "self-denial and returning to propriety" trumpeted by Lin Piao and Confucius and on the revisionist line of fawning on the foreigners and having blind faith in foreign things. They dealt head-on blows to this adverse current of restoration and regression and eventually won the right to build Chinese freighters and sail them to the oceans. The practice of struggle makes it clearer than ever that the bourgeoisie often begins with negating new-born things in its attempt to undermine and oppose the road of self-reliance in the shipbuilding industry. They either fabricate rumors and slanders and curse the new-born things or grasp one point and wipe out the new-born things at one stroke without considering other points of importance. "All this in actuality is a tactic used by the bourgeoisie to wage class struggle against the proletariat." (Lenin, "A Great Beginning")

No new-born thing is perfect at the beginning. When dealing with how to correctly view such imperfections, Lenin cited a vivid example: "It was said that the first invented steam engine was bad and it was even not known whether it had been operated. But this is not the question; the question is that such an invention had been made. Even though the first steam engine was inapplicable judging from its appearance, now we have the locomotive." ("Political Report of the Central Committee of the RCP (B) presented to the 11th Congress of the RCP (B), March 27, 1922) This then tells us that the growth of a new-born thing always undergoes a process of gradual perfection. The same is true of home-made freighters. As a matter of fact, it is the worker masses who have not only zealously built home-made freighters but have also surmounted many problems cropping up in the course of advance with a very positive attitude. Take, for example, the 10,000-h.p. engine produced by the workers of Hutung Shipbuilding Plant. For the past decade they have always dealt with every quality problem seriously. An important component of the 10,000-h.p. engine was called "a cross bearing." In many so-called imported famous brand diesel engines, this component often cracked due to its failure to stand the pressure. The workers did not believe that a problem which was unsolved abroad could not be solved at home. In order to prevent quality from being influenced by certain external shocks in the course of processing, the workers always carried out processing at mid-night when it was all quiet, doing the best they could to surpass the international level in quality. The "human heart bone" crankshaft of the 10,000-h.p. engine was eleven meters long. So that quality could be insured at the time of installation and the machine base would not be contaminated by dust particles, the workers closed all ventilation outlets in the workshop even during the swelteringly hot summer, and willingly worked under a temperature of more than 40 degrees centigrade. The "differential mechanism" of the 10,000-h.p. engine which controlled the reverse movement was unstable at the beginning, and some people said that "when it doesn't move, it doesn't err, but once it moves it errs." Thereupon, the three-in-one combination

group successively conducted more than 1,200 tests and continued improving its quality. Therefore, not to permit a home-made freighter a process of gradual perfection is not to permit the workers to rely on their own strength in developing the shipbuilding industry.

The policy of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and achieving regeneration through one's effort" is the basic guarantee for building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, reflecting as it does the interests and aspirations of the working class. The flourishing of the shipbuilding industry in Shanghai is precisely the result of common efforts made by various trades and professions. When Shanghai Shipbuilding Plant was building the first 10,000-ton freighter, "Fenglei," on a 3,000-ton platform, some people refused to supply it with rolled steel. Learning this, the workers of Shanghai No. 3 Steel Mill lost no time in giving it a helping hand and tried by all possible means to supply it with thick steel plates used for ship construction. When the workers of Chiangnan Shipbuilding Plant posted the big-character poster "Is It an Ocean-going Shipping Company or an Admiration of Foreign Things Company" during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the first to support their revolutionary action were none other than the broad masses of seamen of the Ocean-going Shipping Company. When a home-made freighter was fitted with a home-made 10,000-h.p. engine, some people poured cold water on it, and it was again the broad masses of seamen who supported the shipbuilding workers with concrete action. When the freighter "Fengkuang" sailed to the ocean for the first time, the seamen on board recorded technical data running into a hundred thousand words, providing a valuable basis for the improvement of the 10,000-h.p. engine in Shanghai Shipbuilding Plant. When Hutung Shipbuilding Plant was making the 10,000-h.p. engine, some people demanded that the large home-made chain belt on the engine be replaced by an imported one. Thereupon, the workers of Talung Machine-Building Works came forward, overcame all sorts of difficulties and produced a large chain belt of high quality. In order to deliver the freighter "Fengko" ahead of schedule, Chunghua Shipbuilding Plant decided to fight a battle of annihilation with concentrated forces. At this time, voluntary participation in the battle was announced by the worker masses of Chiangnan Shipbuilding Plant, Hutung Shipbuilding Plant, Kangkou Machinery Plant, and the Navigational Instrument Works in a display of the "Dragon River style." Said the workers with justified pride: "Taking the road of self-reliance is our common wish. To develop the shipbuilding industry at the highest speed possible, we must unite to fight and to win." These lively examples amply demonstrate that the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace trumpeted by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing go against the will of the people. For the reason is that their revisionist line oppresses the working class as a whole. Therefore, the working class must also fight against them as one class fights another before it can continue winning victories in socialist revolution and construction.

A decade of Shanghai's shipbuilding industry has been a decade in which battles were fought and won. However, the struggle has not yet come to an end. The idea of worshipping foreigners and foreign things is a

worn ware left over from prolonged imperialist aggression, and as long as classes and class struggle still exist in society at large, the struggle reflected over the question of whether or not to take the road of self-reliance will not stop. Hence, we must bear in mind the Party's basic line, take class struggle as the key link, and continue to advance from victory to victory, forever riding on the wind and breaking the waves on the lane charted by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

- By our own correspondent and reporter

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